

FACT

THE LABOUR PARTY MONTHLY



Camera Press

Konrad Adenauer: Three-quarters of a Loaf (p. 68)

FACT

THE LABOUR PARTY MONTHLY

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The things they say

QUOTES

Humbug. I would far rather have nationalisation of railways than the humbug free enterprise we had controlled by politicians in the House of Commons. It is perfectly fantastic to accuse the railways of being run by private enterprise when this House has, ever since the canal days, been so afraid of monopoly that it has hamstrung the railways in every conceivable way. Yet now we turn round and accuse the railways of not being efficient. The immediate cause of railway inefficiency is the action of politicians in the Commons over generations. **SIR RALPH GLYNN**, Conservative M.P., in the House of Commons on May 21. He was at one time secretary for the four main line railway companies.

Don't Bother. Don't bother unduly about adjectives. If some anonymous person who wrote a Party election pamphlet used the word "drastic" well, we won't bother. We will endeavour to make alterations such as will be in the best interests of the land of the country. We certainly won't make alterations just for the sake of it. **LORD WOOLTON** in the House of Lords on May 28. He was referring to a pledge that the Conservatives would undertake "drastic overhaul" of town planning, made in the Conservative pamphlet *Britain Strong and Free*.

Closed Shop. They tell me that unless your name is put down for Eton at birth, you can never hope to get in afterwards. And what a gilt-edged investment an Eton education has proved to be in after life! If you can sport the Old Etonian tie, you will never starve, someone will always make sure you have a roof over your head, and you need never go short of a job. . . . Now that is the way to run a closed shop. Compared with this

typical ruthless approach of the upper classes, the trade unions are mere amateurs at the game.

If the Old Etonian gets really desperate about finding a job, in the last resort the Tory Party can usually find him a place on the Government Front Bench. There are Old Etonian Ministers at the Foreign Office, Commonwealth, Colonies and the Scottish Offices; the Board of Trade, Agriculture, Supply, Housing, the Postmaster General, National Insurance and Pensions—all wear the famous tie. Even the Services are not immune. The War Office and the Air Ministry and Defence all have Old Etonian Ministers to guide them.



Twenty-eight members of the present Government come from your school. Now, when you look at the Government's record, doesn't that make you wonder whether Eton has any future? Or perhaps it is that boulder from Harrow, who slipped in by mistake, who is causing all the trouble. . . .

It is notorious that the Tories are much more venomous to Hugh Dalton and John Strachey, the only Labour front-benchers who went to Eton, than they are to chaps like me. Perhaps they feel they have deserted their class.

But, on reflection, the Old Etonian system of looking after its own is only the primitive forerunner of the Welfare State. All the Labour Party seeks to do is to extend to the dockers and miners the privileges that have in the past been reserved for Old Etonians—that is to say

freedom from want, and work—or full maintenance—for all.

You have secured these privileges by being born in the right homes. They come to you through birth or wealth. We intend to make them available on ability and strength of character.

Meanwhile, you are the most privileged group of young people of your age group in Britain. You are growing up amid famous tradition, you have high academic standards to live up to, and every worthwhile career is open to you. **JAMES CALLAGHAN**, M.P. at Eton College on May 30.

Some Parcel. I read a letter the other day from Ross and Cromarty, from a man who wanted to send some machine tools from Stornoway to England. MacBrayne's, he said, quoted him 16s. and the Post Office quoted 4s. I know that there are a lot of things that can be sent through the post, but, if it is the fact that things can be sent four times cheaper through the post, I guarantee that in future some queer packages will be in the hands of the Post Office, rather than in those of MacBraynes. **MALCOLM MACMILLAN**, House of Commons, May 12. (MacBrayne's is the shipping company plying between the Western Isles and the mainland.)

The Problem. The problem we face in the Western world is not, as once it was, to ensure that Germany will never be powerful again. The time for that has gone, if it ever existed. The problem we now face is to ensure that a Germany, which is certain to become powerful, works with the Western side by its own free choice and not with the Soviet Union. It is only the German people themselves who can make that choice. No one has realised that better than the Soviet Government because its recent notes, although ostensibly addressed to the Western Powers, were in fact directed to the people of Germany herself. *We*

should be unwise also to underestimate the difficulty of keeping Germany on the Western side. National unity will soon become the over-riding aim of the Western German people, and Germany will go to the side which offers her the best chance of getting national unity on acceptable conditions. DENIS HEALEY, M.P., in the House of Commons on May 14.

Yes and No. The time has come for the Government to say clearly whether it is their policy that people should build and own their own houses or not. The Minister of Health says 'yes' and is encouraging Local Councils to issue private building licences more freely than ever.

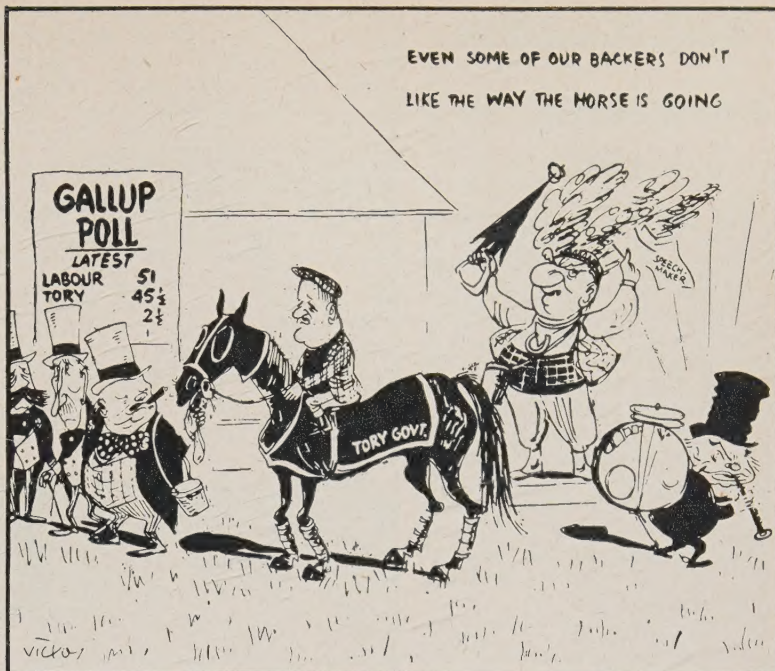
But the Chancellor of the Exchequer says 'No,' and is using the banks to make it more difficult and costly for people to borrow the money they need. Scores of people in every town are finding that their building licences are worthless pieces of paper, because of the Chancellor's monetary policy. And so they are sending them back, disillusioned and disgusted with a Government that gives with one hand and takes away with the other. The Councils re-issue the licences to those whose need is less, but who have ready money.

In my own city of Cardiff, if you can afford to build a house, you stand a fifty-fifty chance of getting a licence. But if you take your turn on the Housing List, the chances are ten to one against you. JAMES CALLAGHAN, M.P., at Pontypridd on June 7.

Someone is Waking Up. Addressing the Conservative Political Centre Luncheon Club at Derby yesterday, Mr. L. S. Amery said the country was facing a desperate situation. Our troubles were not entirely or even mainly due to Socialist theoretical experiments and Socialist incompetence. The mischief in our affairs was of far older origin and went far deeper. It was time we faced the facts and realised there was no hope for us, on the old lines. We must make no mistake about the growing industrialisation of countries which once supplied us with food and now increasingly consumed it themselves. THE TIMES, May 29.

Even the City. The City was entitled to expect from a Conservative Chancellor a consistent financial policy at least. Yet Mr. Butler has exhibited an example of ignorance and vacillation which it would be hard to parallel except among Socialists. FINANCIAL TIMES, May 21.

Difficult. It is difficult to see why the Government did not, on assuming office, dare to throw over not only those pledges which were found impossible to redeem but also those whose fulfilment was inexpedient in the national interest. ALASTAIR FORBES in the SUNDAY DISPATCH on May 25.



News Chronicle

BONN VOYAGE

NEITHER THE Bonn Convention nor the treaty establishing the European Defence Community, signed last month within a day of each other (FACT, this number) becomes law until all the participating Governments have ratified it. In the United States, ratification is certain. In this country, ratification will probably go through, in spite of the criticisms of the Labour Party, because our Parliamentary system was designed to enable Governments to get their own way. In France anything may happen. In Germany, the treaties will get a rough passage.

It is not only the Communist Party which opposes the two pacts. The principal opposition party in Germany, the Social Democrats, is fighting bitterly to prevent the treaties from becoming law. The Social Democrats point out that the creation of an independent sovereign republic in Western Germany may mean the permanent division of their country into rival blocs. They maintain that Dr. Adenauer has no right to conclude such a treaty, as he received no mandate to do so in the Federal elections of 1949; and they demand that on a matter of such fateful importance the Government should go to the country.

British Socialists support this appeal. 'Fresh elections should be held in Western Germany,' the Labour Party National Executive declared in an official statement on April 30, 'before any commitment is undertaken by the Adenauer Government for a German contribution to the European Defence Community.' The statement was printed in full in last month's FACT.

On June 11 the President of the Republic, Professor Heuss, announced that he would ask the constitutional court at Karlsruhe for a ruling on the legality of the European Defence Community treaty. Germany's Social Democrats have argued that the treaty is contrary to the basic law of the Bonn Constitution. On the outcome of this dispute much will hang. Meanwhile every effort must be made to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on the future of a united Germany.

THREE-QUARTERS OF A LOAF

IN THE LITTLE Rhineland town of Bonn, on Monday morning May 26, the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France and the United States joined the Chancellor of the Western German Republic to sign the four conventions which between them constitute the treaty for Germany. The ceremony was held in the ancient university hall, where the Bundesrat, the Upper House of the Federal German Parliament, sits. Behind the statesmen as they signed were banks of hydrangeas, but the organisers had wistfully removed one of the tapestries that normally hangs upon the wall. It represented the Rape of Europa.

A large section of the German people is opposed to the treaty, which they fear will mean the permanent partition of their country into East and West. The opposition includes the German Socialist Party, the SPD, whose leader, Kurt Schumacher, declared that anyone supporting the pact had ceased to be a German. The President of the Bundesrat himself, together with five vice-presidents, all SDF members, were conspicuous by their absence from the Bundesrat hall when the conventions were signed.

To the dissenters, Dr. Adenauer and the Foreign Ministers replied in effect that three-quarters of a loaf was better than no bread, and that anyhow they would all do their best to restore the whole loaf to Germany's people at the earliest opportunity.

'I can assure you,' said Mr. Acheson in his brief speech, 'of my Government's continued determination to press steadily towards this goal until the unity of Germany in freedom has become a reality.'

He had already remarked: 'It is a matter of great regret and concern to the American Government that the task of restoring Germany as a whole is not completed. I feel deeply the absence on this occasion of those who might have represented the people of that part of Germany which is still under Soviet occupation.'

'It would have been a more joyful occasion,' he added, 'if they had been permitted to join us.'

Robert Schuman said much the same for France, adding that it was now



THE PARTITION OF GERMANY

The Saar remains under French control pending the signing of a full Peace Treaty

more necessary than ever to re-state the aims of the free nations. 'We wish to proclaim that we shall never undertake anything which contains a suspicion of danger to others,' Schuman declared. 'Our one wish is for the security, dignity and freedom of all men.'

Looking across at the tired German Chancellor, the French Foreign Minister, who comes from the Rhineland country three times invaded by Germany in 70 years, said: 'We do not merely want a reconciliation. We want future co-operation between peoples who have been divided against one another in the past.'

Anthony Eden was thinking along the same lines: 'Many of you in this room,' he said, 'like myself, have spent

a part of your adult lives in wars which have torn Europe asunder. All the nations here at this table have taken part in them, and all their peoples have suffered from them. It is within the power of statesmanship and the wisdom of nations today to bring that chapter to an end. Here we close, we believe, a war and its aftermath; but these signatures can mean much more than that. They can open a window on the future. They can give to Europe a chance to free itself from the wars that have tortured two generations.'

It remained only for Dr. Adenauer to reply. Though the occasion was the climax of 18 months of unremitting labour on his part, he was not a happy man. All the SDF members of parliament and several others had

boycotted the ceremony. His short speech, delivered in a weak, weary voice, was not addressed to the personages present. It was addressed to the absentees and to the millions of Germans who shared their views.

'These agreements,' he pleaded, 'are the only possible means of finally securing German reunification.'

The Treaty. The purpose of the treaty is to give Germany as much freedom as is compatible with the East-West division of the country and the need for the continued presence of allied forces. It cannot be a peace treaty, because it covers only a part of Germany. It provides for the stationing of British, American, and French forces in Germany. This and other limitations on German sovereignty are imposed by necessity and have been freely accepted by the Federal Government. It is, in fact, as *The Times* remarked, an extraordinary document to meet an extraordinary situation.

The signatories recognise that its terms will have to be revised when Germany is united, but they offer to accept Eastern Germany into the Republic on the same conditions as the West.

Restrictions. The allies retain far-reaching rights in three vital matters. First, their troops will remain in Germany by right and not, as in the case of the Japanese peace treaty, by subsequent agreement. The western Powers could not have given up the right to station troops in Germany without admitting that the Occupation had come to an end. In that case they might have found it difficult to answer by what right they retained their troops in Berlin.

While they have kept the right to keep their forces in Germany they have abandoned the right to make the Germans pay for them. Until June next year the Federal Republic will continue to pay, on a diminishing scale, part of the cost of maintaining allied forces in Germany, but after that time its total contribution to defence will be decided by the same methods as that of any other western nation, and the proportion of this which will go to the allied forces must be settled by agreement. Britain, for one, is extremely unlikely to receive much help from Germany after June, 1953.

The three Powers also retain the right to intervene in Western Germany 'if the Federal Republic and the European Defence Community are unable to deal with a situation which

is created by an attack on the Federal Republic or Berlin, subversion of the liberal democratic basic order, a serious disturbance of public order, or a grave threat of any of these events.'

This is one of the clauses that have aroused the anger of the German Opposition. It not only gives the Western Powers authority to intervene in Germany's internal affairs; it leaves them remarkably free to decide what is an emergency. It is justified by the immaturity of the Federal Republic, by the real danger of Communist insurrection, and by the past history of the German nation.

Foreign Affairs. The third important



Camera Press

ACHESON

A joyless occasion

limitation on Germany's sovereignty is in the field of external affairs. The three Powers retain the right to deal with all matters concerning the unification of Germany and the negotiating of a peace settlement. They assert that their aim is 'a unified Germany enjoying a liberal democratic constitution, like that of the Federal Republic, and integrated within the European community.' In the event of the unification of Germany the three allies will extend to the whole of Germany the rights granted to the Federal Republic, but, 'except by common consent of all the signatory

States, the Federal Republic will not conclude any agreement or enter into any arrangement which would impair the rights of the three Powers or lessen the obligations of the Federal Republic.'

In theory this means that the three Powers could dictate the terms under which Germany is united. In practice, however, the three Powers could never ignore the views of a German Government backed by an adequate majority.

Germany is freed from nearly all the remaining restrictions on her civilian life. She must continue the trust-busting and decartelisation measures begun by the allies, but otherwise her industrial organisation is in her own hands. She will have the right to conduct civil air lines. Her military production will be limited only by agreement with other members of the European Defence Community, which will be responsible for all questions of security. The High Commission has gone; the Ruhr Authority is going. War criminals will be handed over to the custody of the Federal Republic and their cases reviewed by a mixed board of allied and German representatives.

Above all the Federal Republic will have the right to rearm. Under the European Defence Community Treaty, signed the following day (see below), this right is, however, surrendered to a federal European authority.

EUROPEAN DEFENCE

THE DAY AFTER Eden, Schuman, Acheson and Adenauer signed the Bonn Conventions, the same four gentlemen were in Paris for the birth of the European Defence Community, which sets up a mixed European Defence Force. Britain's Foreign Secretary, however, had not come to sign the treaty, as the Churchill Government is not prepared to merge the United Kingdom's forces in the European Army.

In this he follows the policy of the Labour Government, which gave the European defence project its blessing but pointed out that Britain was something more than a European Power. In Opposition, Anthony Eden attacked this attitude in a famous election speech. The responsibilities of office, however, changed all that. In the negotiations leading up to the EDC Treaty, Mr. Eden was careful not to get involved.

Britain's Part. He was present at Paris to bless the bride, to thank his

stars that he was not at the altar, and to sign an agreement with the new family. After the six Powers who are to coalesce their armed forces in the European Defence Community had signed on the dotted line, with Britain's full approval, the Foreign Secretary signed a Treaty of Mutual Assistance pledging British military assistance to the EDC countries in case of attack, in return for a similar pledge on their part. The six countries are Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg.

The United States joined Britain and France in a Declaration of Support for the European Defence Community, which stated: 'The United States and Britain would regard any threat to its integrity (that is, the integrity of EDC) as a threat to their own security.'

Mixed Forces. Under the European Defence Community Treaty, which does not become law until the six parliaments have separately ratified it, the armed forces of the member States are to be fused, not merely co-ordinated. No member may recruit or maintain national armed forces of its own, except for four purposes expressly provided for in the treaty. These are: (1) forces for overseas defence; (2) forces to carry out international missions assigned to them; (3) guards for heads of state, and (4) police. The numbers of these extra forces must not be such as to contradict the spirit of the treaty.

The smaller units of the EDC Army will each be drawn from one nation. The language-problem, let alone any other, rules out mixed units at working level. But they are to be grouped into mixed corps and will depend for their support behind the lines on mixed echelons. All will be under a mixed high command and general staff. They are to have a common uniform.

Administration. The administration of EDC will be in the hands of nine commissioners, appointed for six years by common agreement between the member Governments and chosen for their general competence. Not more than two may be from one State. They are to accept no instructions from individual Governments, but owe allegiance only to the community.

The political institutions of the Community are a Council of Ministers, one representing each country, and a Joint Assembly to meet for one month each year. Delegates to the Assembly will be appointed for the time being by the six Governments, but they are required to produce a plan within six

months for the formation of a democratically elected body. There is also a court of justice to settle disputes.

It will be seen that the Defence Community is a genuine effort at federal government, with the six members definitely surrendering their national sovereignty in one of the most vital fields of authority. An important consequence of this is that while Germany is permitted arms under the Bonn Conventions signed the previous day Germany's armed forces will not be under German high command. They will in fact go into the EDC melting pot along with the armies of five other Powers.

The European Defence Forces are to be 1,250,000 strong. Of these, upwards of 300,000 are to be contributed by Germany.

A NIGHT OF RIOTS

THE SIGNING of the German treaty caused Communist demonstrations throughout Europe. A mob of 6,000 Communist youths invaded the U.S. sector of West Berlin on the night of May 29. Three hundred were arrested and hundreds wounded by police, who broke up the demonstration after an hour's violence.

A spearhead of 1,000 tough Communists, spreading leaflets denouncing West Germany's pact with the Allies, started the riot.

Walter Ulbricht, East German Deputy Premier, called on West German youth to overthrow their government, taking the Chinese and North Korean 'Liberation fighters' as their models.

The Berlin rioting was timed with the visit of Anthony Eden, who assured West Berliners that the Allies intend to stay in the city. He told the West German Senate:

'We reaffirm that any attack against Berlin, from any quarter, will be treated as an attack upon our forces and ourselves. We shall not be influenced by threats. Threats are the stock in trade of those who lack confidence.'

Duclos Arrested. On the same night as the riots in Berlin, Jaques Duclos, boss of France's five million Communists, was charged with threatening the security of France—punishable by solitary confinement for life.

Handcuffed and under heavy guard, he was driven to Fresnes Prison, ten miles from the capital. He was pale and silent.

The Communist led General Federation of Labour, France's TUC, immediately called on its four million members to 'assemble in every enterprise, demonstrate all together, strike and stage walk-outs.'

Work stopped in several departments of the State-owned Renault car factory and in other big plants in the Paris area. Lightning strikes were reported from provincial areas. More than 500 Communists, stoning cars and trams, paraded through Bordeaux.

Thousands of police and troops were called out in Paris. The Ile de la Cite, the little island round Notre Dame Cathedral, was in a state of siege as armed riot squads guarded the law courts and police headquarters.

Duclos was arrested at the height of the riots, when thousands of Communists fought police for four hours; 716 were arrested. Of these, 540 were freed, including Duclos's 30-year-old wife Gilberte.

Ex-pastrycook Duclos, a rotund, bald man of 55, has been the party's leader since Maurice Thorez was flown to Russia in a Soviet plane in 1950 for medical treatment. He is still there.

Communist M.P.s demanded in Parliament that Duclos be freed. Uproar broke out when anti-Communists answered with jibes of 'Free Thorez.'

Raymond Marcellin, Minister for Information, said Duclos cruised in a black car among the rioters and behaved 'like a general commanding his troops.'

Police confiscated all copies of the Communist newspaper HUMANITÉ and the pro-Communist LIBERATION. Twelve other Communist newspapers were seized in the provinces.

CONFUSION AT KOJE

DURING THE Whitsun Recess Lord Alexander and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd flew to Japan and to Korea to get a first-hand account of the complicated situation which has arisen as a result of the American handling of prisoners of war. General Mark Clark, whose service as Commander of the 5th Army in Italy under Alexander gave him plenty of experience of Anglo-American co-operation, will, it is hoped bring a fresh approach to the United Nations Command.

No reasonable person can object to the Americans, who are supplying 90 per cent of the soldiers and have suffered 90 per cent of the casualties, also supplying the Supreme Com-

mander. But many people regret that British advice appears to have been given little weight. It is increasingly felt amongst all parties in Britain that a British voice should be heard, not only in administration of prison camps, but in the Truce Talks as well. The difficulty is that all the other 18 nations with troops in Korea might want a voice as well.

The muddle in the camps was responsible not only for the rioting but for deadlocking the Truce Talks. The Communists made eager propaganda out of the situation, trying hard to convince world opinion that these events proved the United Nations figures of prisoners opposed to repatriation to be completely unreliable. (See FACT, May.)

It now appears that the Americans had a system of dumping all prisoners, whether soldiers or civilian internees, in large compounds on Koje Island. They were handed out bulk rations and other supplies and left to administer themselves. In most compounds fanatical Chinese Communist officers or political commissars took charge and ruled the inmates with an iron hand. They held trials and awarded beatings or other punishments. In some cases even death sentences were carried out, mainly for political deviationism. In some of the compounds, however, South Korean anti-Communists got control, and here administration was easier because they co-operated with the United Nations Authorities.

The figure of 100,000 prisoners who refused to be repatriated was such a damaging blow to Communist prestige that they tried hard to convince the world that the 'screening' was done under duress and the figures meaningless. Though the screening was extremely rough and ready, it now appears that the main duress was that exercised by the Communists. According to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's reports to the House of Commons, most of these 100,000 were in non-Communist compounds and were screened as fairly as possible. Though many may have refused repatriation on economic grounds or because they were afraid of their South Korean camp-mates, no political pressure was put on them by United Nations officers. Many thousands of prisoners in Communist controlled compounds, on the other hand, were not screened at all, because it was too dangerous for United Nations personnel to enter the compounds and the camp commandant had insufficient authority to get them out

in batches. The bulk of these were put down as desiring repatriation, though in fact many of them might have been violently opposed to it.

Urgent steps are being taken by General Mark Clark to clear up the muddle. Not only the camp commandants, but many other American officers responsible for prisoner of war administration have been sacked, and a very able man, General Boatner, put in charge of Koje. Aided by British Commonwealth troops he is gradually regaining control of the camps by splitting up the compounds into much smaller units and separating the Communists from the non-Communists much more carefully.

It is to be hoped that the Chinese will be separated from the Koreans, and the combatants from the civilian internees. It is clear that there should be no refusal to repatriate Chinese except in really exceptional circumstances, as all the Chinese are soldiers

and they cannot be settled in Korea. A large number of North Koreans, on the other hand, are just civilians caught up in the war, and thus not covered by the Geneva Convention which demands the return of captured troops. Even the North Korean soldiers were largely conscripted against their will and it is important therefore that they should be very carefully screened. It would be against the accepted rules of political asylum to force the anti-Communists to return to Communist rule.

This will mean a new and much more careful screening, a complicated and slow job. The sooner it is started the better. Moreover, as Christopher Mayhew said in the House of Commons, not only must it be fair, but the Communists must be convinced that it is fair. They should, therefore, be allowed to send observers to the screening, which should be carried out by impartial teams. No trouble is too great when peace is at stake.

INDUSTRY

LONDON GETS THE SACK

THE DUBIOUS EXISTENCE of London Trades Council as an instrument of the TUC was abruptly terminated on May 28 when the General Council of the TUC rejected the Council's application for registration in the coming year. Trades Councils are required under TUC rules to register each year with Transport House. As a rule this is a formality, but it enables the General Council to expel, in effect, any Councils that have been acting outside the Constitution. The General Council on May 28 was acting on the advice of the Trades Councils Joint Consultative Committee, which at a previous meeting had discussed at some length the activities of the Communist-dominated London body.

Before the Trades Councils Joint Consultative Committee on that occasion was a brief document, prepared by the Trades Councils Department of the TUC, detailing some of the charges which democratic trade unions in the Movement have for a long time been levelling against the London Trades Council. The document pointed out, among other things, that in recent months no fewer than 13 trade union branches in the London area had

withdrawn their support from the London Trades Council because of their dissatisfaction with its behaviour. A copy of this document was conveyed in some mysterious fashion to Mr. Julius Jacobs, known throughout London as Julie Jacobs, the full-time salaried secretary of the London Trades Council. Julie immediately called a special delegate meeting of the LTC on Saturday, May 24.

Points of Order. Although called at only two days' notice, the meeting was remarkably well-attended. At the outset a number of delegates challenged the authority of the meeting to take any decisions, pointing out, firstly, that many affiliated unions were not represented, or were inadequately represented, and secondly, that even the delegates present had in most cases had no opportunity of discussing the matter with their branches. They maintained that the Executive of the Trades Council would naturally ask to make representation before the General Council of the TUC on the following Wednesday, but that they would be quite unjustified in claiming that they spoke with anything other than their own responsibility. The great majority of the delegates, however, opposed

this, and the meeting proceeded to consider a series of resolutions, the object of which was to obtain reconsideration of the General Council's decision to expel London.

Julie Jacobs reported on the situation, as he saw it, in his own inimitable way. He had already circulated, as delegates entered the hall, a fairly lengthy report of his own, of which some hundreds of copies had hastily been duplicated. He managed at the outset to expose one or two minor statistical inaccuracies in the statement that had fallen into his hands, and generally treated the document with the utmost contumely: 'My daughter of 12,' declared Julie, 'would have been ashamed to have written such an illiterate document.' He did not point out that the statement had never purported to present the case against London Trades Council, being little more than a series of notes intended to supplement the verbal case made at the Trades Councils' Joint Consultative Committee by Boyfield of the TUC staff.

He could not deny that the Guild of Insurance Officials, three branches of the National Union of Journalists, the Electrical Power Engineers Association, the London Society of Compositors, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, the Transport and General Workers' Union, and four branches of the Civil Service Clerical Association had pulled out of the London Trades Council in weary disgust after years of Mr. Jacobs' leadership. He contented himself with the point that, of these unions, only one (the London Society of Compositors) had actually made the general accusation that they had 'for some time been concerned about the type of resolution carried at the London Trades Council, and the political trends demonstrated in that body from time to time.' Jacobs appeared to be arguing that because some of the other unions had given no reason for withdrawing from the LTC, they had, in fact, no reason for doing so—a rather curious piece of logic.

Their 'Crime.' In the course of his speech, Jacobs dealt very sarcastically with a remark made in the stolen document to the effect that no doubt some members of his Executive had from time to time attempted to give a progressive lead to the Trades Council. He instanced the London Trades Council's campaign against the so-called wage-freeze at the time when the latter was TUC policy, and demanded 'which was the progressive body, and

which the reactionary body in this dispute?' He instanced again the London Trades Council's campaign against the TUC's support of Order 1305 in the early years of the Labour Government, and again asked which body, his own or the TUC, had been progressive, and which reactionary in this matter.

'Our crime,' he declared, 'was carrying the interests of the London Trade Union Movement forward.'

It was in this part of his speech that Julie Jacobs really stated the case against himself. He assumed throughout that whenever the London Trades Council and the TUC had differed, he had been right and the TUC had been wrong. In the context of this particular controversy, what he was really saying was that whenever the Communist Party of Great Britain had attacked the British Labour Government or the British Trade Union Movement, the Communist Party had been right and British Labour had been wrong.

Frequent Warnings. The General Council of the TUC warned the London Trades Council as long ago as May 1950 that its future registration would depend on improvement in the way it operated. In particular, the Trades Council was warned that it must act in conformity with the proper functions of Trade Councils and must show positive proof of its willingness and ability to support Congress policy. The Trades Council was also informed that it must not allow itself to be used for disruptive propaganda. This warning was debated at the Brighton Congress the following autumn when the General Council's decision was endorsed.

On the many occasions since then when this matter was discussed at London Trades Council meetings, delegates indignantly declared that whatever London Trades Council had done it had always done by majority decision. This was not only a statement of the obvious, as even London Trades Council could not act otherwise; it evaded the central point of the controversy. The point at issue has never been whether London Trades Council acts by majority vote or not; it has been whether the Council has acted within the Constitution of the Movement.

Julie Jacobs and his friends appear to have thought that if you can get a majority vote from your members you can do anything. This is absurd. You can only do what you are empowered to perform as a Trades

Council. Trades Councils are local instruments of the TUC, responsible for carrying out in their neighbourhood the decisions of Congress. In any quarrel about policy, therefore, the TUC is bound to be right, as the function of the Trades Council is to carry out the policy of the TUC, not to formulate it. The only point at which controversy might constitutionally arise would be over matters of interpretation.

When Julie Jacobs stridently protested that he and his Council opposed the TUC over questions of wage restraint and Order 1305, and over many questions touching on foreign policy, he was simply asserting that he was using the London Trades Council unconstitutionally to campaign against the parent body whose policy he was appointed to support. A subaltern in the army might not always agree with the decisions of the Supreme Command, but he is not entitled to lead his platoon against the rest of the army for that reason.

The policy of the TUC is determined at its annual Congress by delegates of all trade unions affiliated. The individual trade unionist, seeking to influence the policy of Congress, must first convince his local branch or chapel, which in turn will endeavour to convince the National Conference of his trade union. When the National Conference of his trade union is convinced, then it will in turn endeavour to convince the Trade Union Congress.

It would be a black day for the British Trade Union Movement if members who had failed to influence the policy of their unions sought through the Trades Councils to obtain decisions contrary to the democratically decided policy of their own organisations. If such things were permitted the only consequence in the end would be the disruption of individual unions. At present, the individual unions together define TUC policy, and that policy is then passed down to the Trades Councils as the local interpreters and instruments of Congress.

Ritualistic Flavour. The discussions on Julie Jacobs' reports to the London Trades Council have an almost ritualistic flavour. A mild, perky little man with greying hair and twinkling eyes, Julie presents his reports in a soft, eager voice from his place on the high platform, looking and sounding rather like a clergyman addressing his flock. Sometimes his words are stern, but his

turn to page 74

National Freedom is not Enough

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, although only recently created, is fast approaching a membership of ten million. Already we have within our ranks 34 Socialist and Labour Parties and the International Union of Socialist Youth with a membership of more than 400,000. We are now in contact with the continents of Europe, America, Africa and Australasia, and Asia.

Naturally our main strength is drawn from all the democratic Socialist Parties in Western Europe together with representatives of the parties in exile from Eastern Europe. This, however, has its dangers. We may be regarded as being pre-eminently European. It may be assumed, quite wrongly, that our Socialist vision has been narrowed down to meet our own immediate needs.

We know that this is not so. We must make it abundantly clear to our comrades in Asia, in Africa and in other parts of the world that our socialism knows no such limitations. They are working in a different social environment and in a different political climate. Their experience has not been the same as ours. But, as Socialists, we are united in fundamentals. They, like us, seek to achieve social justice in conditions of freedom. The Socialist International must have access to their knowledge and experience. We must break through any emotional barriers that remain as an evil legacy from centuries of imperialism.

Because of this conviction the International has recently established a fund to enable us to make contact with the Socialist Parties in Asia.

I believe that we Europeans have as much to learn from the Socialists of Africa and Asia as they have to learn from us. I welcome the fact that some of them are already associated with us, for it is clear that the future of world peace and prosperity depends upon our applying in international affairs the same Socialist principles as we apply to the domestic affairs of our own countries.

We must secure for the peoples of the under-developed parts of the world equality of opportunity and the means to enable them to make the economic and social advances which are so essential. Only in this way can we help them to understand the full meaning and advantages of democracy.

We must show them that we are free from every taint of arrogant imperialism and that we are prepared to share the material benefits of democracy with them. National freedom by itself is not enough, any more than individual freedom was enough for the wage slaves of the nineteenth century. We can only build a real world community for freedom if it is organised according to the moral principles of

socialism. There must be vast redistribution of the world's income in order to remove want and privation from the millions of people in the under-developed territories.

This requires that international Socialist action, if it is to be successful, must be based upon Socialist action in each nation, and national Socialist action must be guided by the internal, political and economic problems of the country concerned.

It may well be that this seems paradoxical. On the other hand we cannot, as Socialists, pursue our aims within a purely national framework, for in this modern age what we do in one country will have its reactions on others. It is, therefore, imperative, that we should, through the medium of the International, provide the greatest opportunity for consultation so that every Socialist Party can be made fully aware of the general trends within our nations and our movements, so that our separate national policies can, as far as it is practicable, be fitted into some general framework.

I believe that the present International is an instrument capable of fulfilling this function. It is not an attempt to compel parties which are democratic to submit their national programmes to the decision of an international authority. After all, no international body can know as much about the problems of a particular country as the party that is working in that country every day. But our meetings and conferences make it possible for us to understand each other's point of view and our mutual faith as Socialists has made it possible for a degree of consultation that was not known in previous Socialist internationals.

I take this opportunity of declaring on behalf of the International our faith in the ability of socialism to meet the challenge of the modern world. We Socialists cannot claim a monopoly of wisdom or moral strength. We must approach the formidable problems which await us with genuine humility. But we can approach them also with a sober confidence.

As Socialists we draw our inspiration from the same moral sources as have inspired movements for freedom, progress and justice throughout history.

To this deep moral purpose we can add a scientific understanding of the political and economic forces which shape the modern world. This combination is irresistible, providing we work together and keep our eyes fixed on our goal—a world of plenty, peace and freedom. We shall not fail this responsibility.

The above is from Morgan Phillips' address to the Swedish Democratic Socialist Party at Stockholm on June 2. He was speaking as Chairman of the Socialist International.

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manner is always pedantic. Then his disciples rise one after another and repeat in the fiercest possible language the arguments Julie has deployed.

They angrily support him. They indignantly repudiate his foes. They make what are called fighting speeches and finally they throw themselves back in their seats with the air of men who have fearlessly exposed the sin against the Holy Ghost.

Julie listens serenely from his high place, smiling blandly, sometimes puffing paternally at his pipe or fussing about with his papers, busy as a bee. When the chain reaction is complete, the Council endorses his action; Julie rises to his feet, and the ritual begins over again.

It was exactly thus at the special meeting on May 24. After a large number of speeches, each repeating the other, had been made, the issue was put to the vote. Amidst loud cheers and stamping of feet, Julie Jacobs' report was accepted without a single dissentient vote, though a number of delegates had braved the heckling to oppose him in the debate. An unknown number of members abandoned.

Defeat at Southport. Anticipating this victory, Jacobs had sent consignments of his four-page report, equivalent in length to two full pages of FACT, to Southport, where the Annual Conference of Trades Councils was meeting the same weekend. There a number of Communist delegates from the London area were standing by to distribute them. It is understood that they were under orders to raise the issue on the floor of the Conference only if they were satisfied that the London case would be accepted. It so happened that early in the Conference the platform was defeated on a resolution of no great importance. This encouraged the rebels to believe that the floor was on their side, and when the report of the Trades Councils Joint Consultative Committee was under discussion Mrs. A. Hunt, of the London Federation, moved the reference-back of the appropriate section. Hull, Holborn and Hackney came to her support.

They argued that all London was asking was the right to be heard before being condemned, but the hardbitten trade unionists from the North and Midlands, aware that this controversy had been raging for several years, were too experienced to fall for that. After Boyfield of Transport House had replied for the General Council in a

most effective speech, the vote was taken and to the dismay of the dissidents, they were soundly defeated by 197 to 66. There is no doubt whatever that Congress itself will also endorse the decision of its General Council when it meets in October.

It may be that for a short time a number of trade unionists in the London area will retain their association with the expelled body, but this cannot last for long, as the London fractions of British trade unions have to submit finally to the verdict of their National Conferences. What will be the future of Mr. Jacobs, who is one of the most efficient Communist stooges in this country, no one can say. Just as soon as King Street decides that the London Trades Council has shot its bolt, they will themselves abandon it and instruct all their members in trade unions associated with it to abandon it also.

There is nothing sentimental about Communist Party methods. If the horse goes lame they shoot it.

WAGE CLAIMS

THE TRADE UNIONS annual conference season is now well under way. Despite the Government's appeal for wage restraint, every union conference in recent weeks has decided to press substantial claims.

The Engineers conference on May 7 decided to claim an overall increase of £2 a week, with equal pay for women. The A.E.U. Executive opposed the actual sum on the grounds that it was unattainable, asking in vain for a free hand to obtain as much as they could. The total cost of the claim would be over £300 millions a year.

A week later the National Union of Agricultural Workers at their biennial conference decided to press for a weekly minimum wage of £7.

Substantial Claims. These demands followed substantial claims put forward at the Easter conferences of four of Britain's leading trade unions.

At Margate, 900 delegates of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers unanimously demanded a substantial pay rise for all the union's 350,000 members, coupled with restoration of the Butler cuts in food subsidies.

At Edinburgh, the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen endorsed its Executive's

proposal to demand pay increases in drawing offices throughout Britain. The Association, 50,000 strong, is powerful by virtue of the key nature of its members' jobs.

Bitter attacks on the Horsburgh education axe were made by delegates of the National Union of Teachers at Scarborough. Miss Horsburgh herself valiantly addressed the Conference, but women teachers heckled her on Equal Pay.

In private session the teachers authorised their representatives to conclude a wages' settlement 'at the earliest moment.' The N.U.T. speaks for 200,000 teachers.

At Scarborough, where Clement Attlee's Union, the Clerical and Administrative Workers, held its annual conference, a resolution demanding 'a substantial increase' in the pay of all clerical workers was referred to the Executive Committee to be implemented as soon as possible.

C.A.W.U. has a membership of just under 40,000. Although membership rose last by roughly 7,000 they still represent only a small proportion of Britain's 250,000 clerks. Readers of FACT who know any of these Cinderellas might mention the Union to them.

Executive Action. In addition to conference decisions, the Executives of many unions have staked claims in the last few months. The National Union of Mineworkers Executive, for example, decided on May 7 to go forward for 'a substantial increase' to meet increases in the cost of living. Several branches of the union have been urging £2 a week as a definite figure, but the Executive was not prepared to be specific.

Negotiations opened on May 30 on behalf of omnibus workers in municipal, private and London Transport Executive undertakings. Over 200,000 workers are affected. Union fighting the claim is the Transport and General Workers.

A 10 per cent increase for 450,000 railway workers was called for on May 9 by a joint committee of the National Union of Railwaymen, the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and the Transport Salaried Staffs Association (formerly the R.C.A.). Some 450,000 workers are involved. The cost would be £17 millions a year.

These are only some recent additions to the long list of demands. The total cost of all current outstanding claims has been estimated at £500

million a year. About 6 million workers are affected.

They are also, of course, additional to the very large number of claims that have already been settled. Workers who have obtained pay increases this year include colliery clerks, pottery workers, foundrymen, bakers, builders, woodworkers, dockers, Thames watermen, vehicle builders, firemen, London County Council clerks, women engineers, apprentice engineers and many smaller groups.

Even the beefeaters at the Tower of London put in for more pay. In January they obtained a rise averaging 14s. 6d. a week. The minimum weekly wage of a Yeoman of the Guard is now £5 16s. 6d.

SHADOW OVER DOCKLAND

CUTS IN OVERSEAS trade have hit British docks hard. The National Dock Labour Board is now carrying large surpluses of labour.

All new recruitment of men has stopped, Lord Crook the Board's chairman, disclosed when he introduced the 1951 report on June 4.

The changes have taken place since the turn of the year. Employment on the docks last year was higher than at any time in the past ten years, and by the end of November registered dockers had risen to the new high level of 82,500.

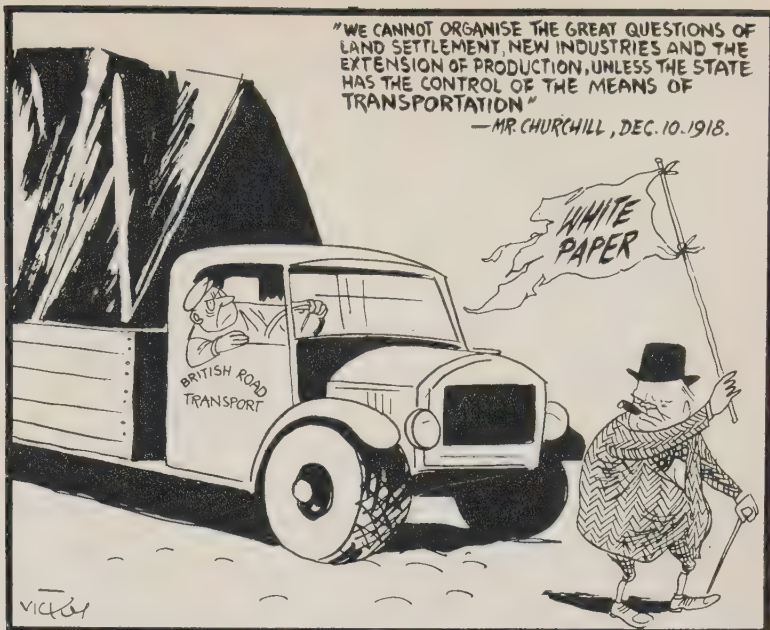
Gross earnings averaged £9 16s. 6d. a week, compared with £8 12s. 10d. in 1950.

Because 1951 was a busy year, the Board's operational costs were £60,000 less than in 1950 in spite of more employed, higher pay and rising prices.

Attendance money—paid to men when standing idle in reserve—fell from £979,021 to £673,807.

The report says that voluntary absenteeism is not a serious problem.

(The Dock Labour Scheme was introduced in 1947. It put an end to casual labour in dockland. All registered dockers are now guaranteed a minimum weekly wage, provided they report for employment. This was a revolutionary improvement in dockers' conditions. The scheme is wholly financed by a levy on the employers and is administered by the Dock Labour Board comprising four trade unionists and four employers under an independent chairman. See 'Why Dockers Strike,' June, 1951.)



THE MAN WITH THE FLAG—BY VICKY

News-Chronicle

Hands Off Transport!

—says Arthur Deakin, C.H., C.B.E.

THE GOVERNMENT POLICY set out in the 'White Paper' strikes a shattering blow at the transport of this country. These proposals can only be described as a specious piece of political expediency, having no regard to the importance of transport as a vital service to the nation.

For the first time modern transport, as we know it, rail, road and the various other forms of transport, had an opportunity through the provisions of the Road Transport Act of 1947 to become established on a basis which, to use the words of the Act: 'would establish an efficient, adequate, economical and properly integrated system of public inland transport, in such a manner as to provide most efficiently and conveniently for the needs of the public.'

The setting up of a National Transport Authority by the Labour Government was based upon the recognition that the industry could not perform its function on the basis of the cut-throat competition which had grown up, particularly between the years 1920-33. This cut-throat competition had made impossible the efficient and economic operation of transport in this country.

The job to be done was not merely one of co-ordination between road and rail. Inland waterways and coastwise seaborne transport were also brought within the Commission—services which, effectively organised and developed, could provide quick economic movement of all kinds of traffic.

From 1930 onwards a series of government inquiries were held into the operation of transport. The four main railway companies, acting together, sought during that period of time to secure an alteration in the law to give them what they described as a 'square deal.' But all the thought given to the consideration of this problem did not produce a solution. The effect of wasteful competition over the years produced serious financial problems; losses for the railways; bankruptcy for small haulage operators and wasteful expenditure of the country's resources. Canals fell into disuse, coastwise shipping was faced with grave difficulties and the transport services of the country, generally, became absolutely chaotic.

This was the inheritance of the British Transport Commission when

they were given the responsibility of looking after the nation's transport. The Commission is now condemned by the Tory Government because, it is said, in the three-and-a-half years of operation they have not been successful in completely clearing up the muddle they inherited from private enterprise! If the proposals in the 'White Paper' are implemented and the Government gets away with its present intention to prevent transport operating under the control of the British Transport Commission, the clock will be set back.

During the previous months the trade unions in the industry, in negotiation with the road haulage and railway executives of the British Transport Commission, had been endeavouring to work out a plan for the co-ordination and integration of road and rail services, and agreement had been reached. This work may now be destroyed. The unions have already had to advise the British Transport Commission that in view of the uncertainty created and the absence of Government policy, the agreement could not be applied.

The unions owe a duty to the public. They realise the nature and quality of the problem, but they also have a responsibility to their members and they will not, and cannot, gamble on a risk which could be so catastrophic in its effect. The 'White Paper' itself is a jig-saw puzzle, based on generalities, taking little heed of those basic considerations which cannot be ignored when dealing with an operation so involved and intricate as the various forms of transport operation.

The trade unions working with the Opposition will offer the most resolute resistance to this reckless adventure. Labour, from the Opposition benches, has already put up a very convincing case against the Government proposals. Sir Ralph Glyn, himself a member of the Tory Party and a very experienced and distinguished administrator of railway transport in this country, in his opposition to the proposals of his own Government pleaded for reconsideration of this important matter. In his speech to the House, Sir Ralph said that in his contact with his friends in transport he had not found anyone who had a good word to say about the Government proposal.

In an objective examination of this reversal of transport policy it must be appreciated that the overwhelming

desire of the Government is to return to private enterprise those activities which will bring profit to the speculator, without regard to the best interests of the country's economy as a whole, leaving the unremunerative but no less important operation of the railways to an emaciated National Authority, with no prospect at all of making a success of what is left.

Consideration must also be given to the position of the people employed in the industry: are their views of no value? Their views are very clear and definite; they are strongly opposed to the change. Never, in the whole of my long industrial experience have I seen evidence of such bitterness amongst the men on the job. They remember the 'bad old days'; the struggle to establish decent wages and working conditions; the great difficulty experienced by the unions in negotiating voluntary agreements and getting them observed.

Railwaymen and road transport men have had to travel a long and difficult road—effective wage standards have been hard to get. So far as road haulage is concerned, it became necessary in 1938 to get the Road Haulage Wages Act on the Statute Book with a view to securing the necessary legal enforcement of the negotiated wages and conditions of employment. The men have, during the period of time transport has been operating as a national undertaking, been able to establish, through the unions, good relationships and improved wages and working conditions. They consider they have had a far better deal as employees of the British Transport Commission than at any time previously in their history.

It is with these considerations in mind that the men in the transport services are relying on their unions to oppose the proposals of the Government. We say that transport must not become the pastime of Parliament and political interference. If the country is to be provided with the efficient transport service it needs, and deserves, it is essential that it should be allowed to develop in the manner planned under the Road Transport Act of 1947, and operate as a properly co-ordinated and integrated national service.

The transport unions are acting together in this matter and expressing, jointly, their complete and unalterable opposition to the Government proposal to destroy transport as a

national enterprise. They will protest against any attempt to introduce any variations of the present law which seeks to introduce competition and not co-ordination as its objective.

Editor's Note

THE GOVERNMENT'S White Paper on Transport Policy was published on May 8. Speaking in the House of Lords a week later, Lord Beveridge described it as 'a leap in the dark backwards.' The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN had already condemned it in an editorial on May 9 as 'vague and, so far as sense can be made out of it, thoroughly reactionary.'

The chief proposal in the White Paper is to sell British Road Services to private operators. These are the services run by the Road Haulage Executive under the general guidance of the British Transport Commission.

The Road Haulage Executive began operations in March 1948. Between that date and the end of last year it took over 3,766 separate undertakings with something like 40,000 vehicles. Vast as this fleet is, it is still only a fraction of the country's 800,000 goods vehicles. The Executive's job was to organise these into one efficient concern whose services could be co-ordinated with those of the railways, the canals, and other sections of British Transport. All impartial observers agreed that this task was a necessary one and that the Road Haulage Executive was effectively accomplishing it. *Modern Transport*, for example, Britain's leading transport journal, remarked in an editorial on May 17, after the White Paper had appeared: 'We ourselves have had ample opportunity of examining... operating aspects of British Road Services, and we found nothing to justify such an indictment. The fact is that this farflung commercial undertaking has brought new standards of service, vehicle operation, engineering and employment into the road haulage sphere.'

The White Paper argued that British Road Services must be abandoned because they could not stand up to competition from private undertakings. It is difficult to follow this argument, as the average charges of British Road Services have risen only 30 per cent since nationalisation. In the same period private hauliers put up their prices by an average of 40 per cent.

It is, in any case, a well-known fact that private haulage contractors no more relish competition than do private builders or other private profit-seekers, all of whom collaborate to maintain high prices whenever possible. *The Economist* pointed out on May 10 of last year, in a comment on Conservative election policy: "Freedom" for road haulage... implies restoring an important private monopoly."

Although final results have not yet been published, British Road Services are reliably reported to have shown a surplus of between £3 million and

£4 million last year. In spite of this, the Tory Government proposes to sell the assets back to private speculators for less than the price paid by Labour when the services were taken over. In fact, the purchase of the road haulage undertakings cost the nation £80 million. The Government is prepared to sell them for £60 million. Even so, they cannot force businessmen to buy. It may well happen that all the bargains will be snapped up, leaving a residue of the poorest vehicles in public hands, without any effective organisation to run them.

smaller than that of the district councils of England and Wales.

In the recent elections, Labour gained control of four burghs, including Glasgow, and one county; but Socialists still control only two of the four counties of cities, eight out of 20 large burghs, 19 out of 172 small burghs and four out of 31 counties.

Nonetheless, it is probably true to say that Labour won every winnable seat in the recent elections, on both sides of the Border, and won in addition a good few seats believed to be unwinnable. It should be remembered that in most cases only one-third of the council retires each year. This reduces by two-thirds the impact on the local council of any strong revulsion of feeling, such as the revulsion against the Conservatives this year. The citizens of a ward having three Conservative councillors, for example, are able to kick out only one at a time, leaving themselves with two Tories and one Socialist. There are many councils which would certainly have been captured by Labour if the entire council had been required to submit to the electorate, which Labour knew could not be captured, however sensational the results, because Conservative councillors made up too large a proportion of the two-thirds who remained outside the ring.

All this is not a bad thing in principle, though it can be disappointing for a local political party as fighting fit as most Labour parties were last month. It ensures that a group of citizens cannot win control of the local council by a sudden stunt; they can do so only if they hold the support of their fellow citizens over a period of years. FACT is prepared to

TOWN HALL

LOCAL ELECTION ROUND-UP

Sweeping Gains. In the last number of FACT the County Council election results in England and Wales were briefly summarised. In all, Labour gained 432 seats in these elections and lost 26, winning control of four county councils, in addition to the eight already controlled. Since then the 1952 local elections have been completed in England and Wales by the struggle for the county boroughs, the municipal boroughs, the urban and rural districts and the humble parishes, while a complete set of local elections has been fought in Scotland, except in the 'counties of cities.' On all these battlegrounds, Labour made sweeping victories.

Precise figures are given in the table on this page. Though heartened by the results, Transport House is not complacent. Labour now controls 12

county councils—but 50 are yet to be captured; 38 county boroughs—but 45 are yet to be captured; 61 non-county boroughs—but no fewer than 248 remain in other hands.

The same is true of other local councils. Labour now holds 161 urban districts, having gained 29 and lost only one in the recent elections; but even these victories left 411 such councils in other hands. The capture of four rural district councils only brought Labour's total to 23 out of 475. In Scotland the story is similar.

Scotland. Scottish local government is administered through four principal types of authority: counties of cities of which there are only four (roughly corresponding to the English county borough), large burghs, small burghs and counties. There are also district councils, whose scope is considerably

FACT'S SUMMARY OF LOCAL ELECTION RESULTS, 1952

English and Welsh Parish Councils and Scottish District Councils are not included as reliable results are difficult to compile.

Type of Authority	Vacancies 1952	Seats Gained	Seats Lost	Councils Captured	Councils Lost	Total number of Councils	Number of Labour Councils
<i>England and Wales</i>							
COUNTY BOROUGHS	3,448	297	3	11	—	83	38
NON-COUNTY BOROUGHS		364	12	16	—	309	61
URBAN DISTRICTS		4,714	463	26	1	572	161
RURAL DISTRICTS		*2,000	288	27	4	475	23
COUNTIES	3,896	432	26	4	—	62	12
TOTAL ENGLAND AND WALES ..	14,058	1,844	94	64	1	1,501	295
<i>Scotland</i>							
COUNTIES OF CITIES	—	—	—	—	—	4	2
LARGE BURGHS	†	76	2	4	—	20	8
SMALL BURGHS	†		7	1	—	172	19
COUNTIES	†		35	—	—	31	4
GRAND TOTAL ..		1,955	103	69	1	1,728	328

* Approximately. † Accurate figures not available.

A REMARKABLE CAREER

Book Review by Tom Naylor, former Secretary of the London Society of Compositors

prophesy that local Labour Parties have now won and will hold that support, and that in the next two or three years Socialist majorities will be attained in many council chambers where Labour has never previously enjoyed control.

Non-party. It should be remembered that non-Labour councils are not necessarily anti-Labour councils; still less are they Conservative councils. A good third of all local councils are still nominally non-party. For example, out of just under 13,000 councillors and aldermen on county boroughs and non-county borough councils, in England and Wales, 4,681 are Labour, 4,475 are Conservative, 409 are Liberal and 3,412 are Independent. On other local authorities, the proportion of non-party personages is almost certainly even higher.

Following is a list of the councils captured by Labour in the 1952 Elections. These are in addition to councils already held:

ENGLAND AND WALES

Countries:

Lancashire, Northumberland, Essex, West Riding of Yorkshire.

County Boroughs:

Birmingham, Bolton, Bootle, Bradford, Bristol, Doncaster, Dudley, Leicester, Preston, South Shields, Wolverhampton.

Non-County Boroughs:

Ashton-under-Lyne, Barry, Bridgewater, Colne, Daventry, Dukinfield, Eccles, Mitcham, Pontefract, Queenborough, Rawtenstall, Romford, Slough, Swindon, Widnes, Wood Green.

Urban Districts:

Beeston and Stapleford, Bollington, Brierley Hill, Braintree and Bocking, Carnforth, Church, Clay Cross, Clayton-le-Moors, Cwmbran, Denby Dale, Ellesmere Port, Failsforth, Ffestiniog, Gainsborough, Great Harwood, Irthlingborough, Knottingley, Letchworth, Little Lever, Mangotsfield, Oakengates, Old Fletton, Raunds, Rushden, Sowerby Bridge, Thurrock, Waltham Cross, Wickham, Wirksworth.

Rural Districts:

Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Elstree, New-castle-under-Lyme, Watford.

SCOTLAND

Countries:

Stirlingshire.

Burghs:

Glasgow, Aberdeen, Denny, Port Glasgow.

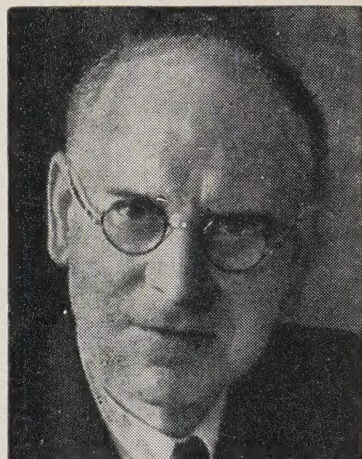
THE FULL STORY of a remarkable career is given in *George Isaacs* by G. G. Eastwood, Odhams Press, 16s. George Alfred Isaacs is a well-known figure in the British and International Labour Movements; but there is much about his upbringing, his varied experiences, and his sterling character that fully justifies the wider publicity of this biography, an efficient and conscientious piece of writing by G. G. Eastwood. It is the story—not without parallel, by the way—of a man's rise from extreme poverty to a position among the highest in the land.

Few men have led so active and vigorous a life as this offspring of an old Cornish family. His father and grandfather were sturdy radicals, which may explain why the latter had to leave the West Country to earn his living in London. So it came about that 'our George' was born a cockney. Married early in life, his parents set up housekeeping in a single room in the London borough of Finsbury. The eldest of a family of ten, George came into the world on May 28, 1883, though his personal appearance as we know him today belies the fact that he is 69 years of age. Young George finished schooling at the age of 12. But before that he had been doing little spare-time jobs to augment the family budget. Later he was engaged in certain minor capacities in a printing office, where he picked up sufficient knowledge to graduate as a machine assistant on a London newspaper, where his father also was employed.

This engagement was destined to shape the career of the future Minister of Labour. By the time he was 28, after serving as Father of the Chapel and coming to the notice of the members of his union in several ways, he was elected General Secretary of what was then known as the Printers' Labourers' Union. It was no easy task that fell to his lot. The union was in a serious state of disrepair, without funds and without hope. In the course of years, Isaacs transformed it into a prosperous national union, the improved conditions obtained by the freshly-named National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants being almost a record in the industry. The limits of space do not

permit of more than a mention of how Isaacs gradually enhanced his reputation in the trade union world, how he became President of the Printers' National Federation, his election to the General Council of the TUC, and his frequent selection as a representative at the ILO and other important gatherings. It is all very interesting, but for the full story the reader must go to the source.

With such a record behind him, it is not surprising that Isaacs should be regarded as a most desirable candidate for Parliament, and for the local



ISAACS
Eldest of Ten

borough council. His trade union offices being situated in Southwark, he had already been elected to the Council, and was its first Labour mayor—a good send-off for him as a parliamentary candidate when, after winning and losing Gravesend, he was adopted for North Southwark. By that time the South-East and Central divisions were already represented by Labour Members. Here again the reviewer is reduced to a mere mention of the ups-and-downs, carefully followed through by the biographer, of these parliamentary contests. Today, with the three former Southwark constituencies merged into one, Isaacs commands a majority of over 22,000.

In 1923, after his first successful

turn to back page

	September	October	November	December	January	February
PRODUCTION						
Interim Index of Industrial Production						
All Industries 1946 = 100	145	150	152	137	144	149
Mining and Quarrying	122	124	127	119	118	124
Textiles and Clothing	140	133	129	106	122	—
Food, Drink, Tobacco	111	126	134	131	125	—
Engineering	158	164	167	152	156	—
Building and Contracting	140	140	140	130	120	129
Bricks, Cement, etc.	190	197	202	182	191	—
COAL (thousand tons)						
Total coal production weekly averages ..	4,437	4,507	4,557	4,272	4,337	4,560
1938 = 4,353						
Total Coal Consumption (excluding exports):	3,716	3,970	4,223	4,274	4,466	4,576
1938 average = 3,463						
Coal Exports and Bunker coal	261	277	262	236	206	262
1938 average = 890						
Output per manshift (in tons, 1938 = 1.14) ..	1.22	1.22	1.23	1.21	1.20	1.21
Total Wage Earners (thousands)	696	694	695	697	702	708
1938 = 782						
OVERSEAS TRADE						
(United Kingdom) (in £ millions)						
Total Exports (including re-exports)	218.5	245.8	254.0	213.4	264.3	244.1
Percentages of 1938 volume at comparable prices	165**			169**		
Total Imports (in £ millions)	337.3	362.6	328.8	314.1	357.1	296.9
Exports to Dollar Area	21.6	26.9	25.1	20.6	25.4	21.2
Imports from Dollar Area	76.8	76.8	80.7	68.4	74.2	60.8
Deficit with Dollar Area	55.2	49.9	55.6	47.8	48.8	39.6
*Total Deficit (not including invisible trade)	118.8	116.8	74.8	100.7	92.8	52.8
†Terms of Trade						
Export Prices	125	125	126	†	107†	108†
Import Prices	138	133	134	†	103†	103†
EMPLOYMENT (Great Britain) <i>see note</i>						
Total Working Population (thousands) ..	23,482	23,480	23,480	23,426	23,454	23,432
June 1939 = 19,750						
<i>Figures include unemployed and Forces.</i>						
Armed Forces (thousands)	840	844	853	852	859	860
June 1939 = 480						
December 1947 = 1,119						
Unemployed (thousands)	235	276	297	350	385	405
July 1938 = 1,786.5						
Working days lost through Industrial Disputes (monthly average 1918-39, excluding 1926, was 969,000)	109,000	111,000	91,000	40,000	79,000	75,000
WAGES AND PRICES						
Interim Index of Retail Prices						
(based on food, drink, tobacco, rent, clothing, household goods, etc. June 1947 = 100) ..	128	129	129	130	132	133
Food Prices (1947 = 100)	141	143	144	145	150	150
Weekly Wage Rates	121	122	126	126	127	128
(June 1947 = 100; September 1939 = 60)						
Average Weekly Earnings †						
(industrial, including overtime, etc.)	Oct. 1948	April 1949	Oct. 1949	April 1950	Oct. 1950	April 1951
Men over 21 (1938 = £3 9s. 0d.)	£6 17 11	£6 19 11	£7 2 8	£7 5 9	£7 10 5	£8 0 2
Women over 18 (1938 = £1 12s. 6d.) ..	£3 14 6	£3 17 2	£3 18 9	£4 0 6	£4 2 7	£4 7 4

Employment figures are at end of month. Total working population includes indoor domestic workers and persons above pensionable age who prior to January 1949 were excluded. Following repeal of the Control of Engagement Order, vacancies need not be registered at Exchanges; reliable figures of unfilled vacancies are therefore no longer available.

* The invisible trade (military and other expenditure overseas, receipts from shipping, etc.) of the U.K. showed a deficit of £172 million in 1946 and of £189 million in 1947; a favourable balance of £103 million in 1948, £110 million in 1949 and £382 million in 1950.

† A new index was introduced in January 1950 based on 1947 = 100. At that time Export Prices were 259 per cent and Import Prices 297 per cent of the 1938 prices. A new index was again introduced in January 1951, based on 1950 = 100, and again in January 1952, based on 1951 = 100.

** New index based on 1947 = 100. For approx. 1938 comparison multiply by 1.1. Figures are for each quarter where completed.

‡ Excluding agriculture, coalmining, shipping, docks, catering, entertainment, commerce, banking, distribution. See FACT, May 1951.

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election to Parliament, as Member for Gravesend, Isaacs became Parliamentary Private Secretary to J. H. Thomas, who was a Cabinet Minister in the minority Labour Government. He served Thomas again when the second Labour Government was formed in 1929. During the war he was called upon to serve A. V. Alexander in the same capacity at the Admiralty. It is recalled that when the Government fell in 1931, followed by the formation of a National Government, Thomas did his utmost to persuade Isaacs to join with Ramsay MacDonald, but was flatly turned down.

Isaacs' crowning honour was, of course, his appointment to the office of Minister of Labour and National Service, plus a seat in the Cabinet, thus becoming a Privy Councillor. It was a happy choice on the part of Clement Attlee, for Isaacs, with his wide trade union experience, fitted the position like a glove. His transfer from the Labour Ministry, at the end of a record period of office in that department, was at his own request; he was fully entitled to the less exacting office of Minister of Pensions.

After reading this volume, one's outstanding impression is of a man who has made good by sheer force of character. In all his enterprises he was a prodigious worker, absolutely thorough in any task he undertook. A total abstainer all his life, with a leaning towards conventional religion, and a sympathetic nature, he has gained friends in all walks of life. His platform manner was and still is a little out of the ordinary, but always attuned to the occasion. As a cockney born and bred, he soon gets on good terms with his Southwark audiences; but on more sedate occasions he can point the moral and adorn the tale without a trace of the cockney accent.

Mr. Eastwood carries the story through until the 1951 General Election, and quotes the letter Isaacs received shortly afterwards from Clement Attlee. And this is what his Chief said: 'My dear George, ever since the Election I have had to deal with a great spate of letters, which has resulted in my writing to you only now to express my thanks to you for all your good work in office. You had no easy task in following Ernest at the Ministry of Labour, but you came through triumphantly. Thank you for your loyal support at all times. Yours, Clem.'

HOUSING POSITION AT 31 MARCH, 1952

Housing Accommodation provided since end of war					Great Britain	England and Wales	Scotland
NEW PERMANENT HOUSES	..	..	..	..	1,069,958	949,636	120,322
TEMPORARY HOUSES	..	..	..	..	157,146	124,970	32,176
Total new houses					1,227,104	1,074,606	152,498
CONVERSIONS, REPAIR OF WAR DAMAGE, ETC.					338,986	327,013	11,973
Total new homes..					1,566,090	1,401,619	164,471

Total conversions, etc., may fall occasionally owing to derequisitions.

Holiday Contrast



In an all too brief escape from the bustle of workaday life modern holiday-makers count it a unique pleasure to linger with their daily newspaper. Their leisurely choice from a panorama of world and home news and views is a revealing contrast that increases the feeling of holiday freedom; and incidentally, during the day every member of the family shares the choice of interest. On your holiday ask the local newsagent for the responsible and lively

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